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THE YOUNG WORKER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE YOUNG WORKERS LEAGUE

(Formerly "Youth")



“The Solidarity of Youth”

Close Up the Ranks—May Day, 1922

A United Front of Juvenile Labor in Denmark

In December last the Young Communist League of Denmark launched an important action for the improvement of the situation of the apprentices of whom there are 30,000 in Denmark.

The present reactionary Danish Government in Spring 1921 legislated a new act regulating apprenticeship. This act is no improvement on the one in force previously (the only new feature being that masters are no longer permitted to hand out corporal punishment to their apprentices—as was the case in the Middle Ages till 1921).

In connection with this new act the Y. C. L. of Denmark framed the following three demands:

1. Free tuition for all apprentices.
2. All books etc. to be furnished free of charge.
3. All necessary preparations for compulsory day classes for all apprentices to be started immediately.

In Copenhagen and in a number of provincial towns agitation for these demands was soon in full swing. This agitation was especially successful among the pupils of the Technical Schools in Copenhagen. A delegation was elected by the Y. C. L. to negotiate with the social-democrats in the matter. At the same time a demonstration before the city hall of Copenhagen was arranged.

The social-democrats saw that their sheep would stampede away if something were not done immediately and accordingly prepared a counter-action. This was accomplished with the help of the Apprentice's Union, a professedly non-partisan organization controlled by social-democrats, which printed handbills enjoying upon all concerned not to follow the Communists.

These endeavors were of no avail, however, and the demonstration took place, compelling the social-democratic councillors to consider the three demands enumerated above.

This, through it would have satisfied the rights who live on promises, did not constitute what we could remain content with. Hence, we carried our agitation into the trade-unions with a view of making them exert their influence on behalf of the apprentices.

The Y. C. L. of Denmark has also propagated the slogan of a united front of juvenile labor in the matter of the apprentices. The first success of this campaign was that a radical change took place in the personnel of the A. U., two Communist being elected secretary and editor of the official organ. This, of course, does not imply that the A. U. has turned Communist; it creates, however, the basis for future close co-operation.

There is no doubt that the Y. C. L. will continue to develop favorably.

Organizing the Children

The young people's movements of all the world are beginning to take a more active interest in reaching the children. Socialist and Communist Sunday School movements and Junior Leagues are being developed everywhere. The Germans, who have long been leading in this work, have a well organized movement amongst the children, numbering many thousands. They are doing a great deal of work for the revolutionary proletariat outside of Famine Relief which was mentioned in the former issue of the Young Worker Sweden, Norway, France, Italy, all have strong childrens sections. In many countries there are special papers devoted to the children and their problems.

A "Year Book" issued by the German YCL, which we have just received, sets a standard for all other leagues.

Reaching the Youth of the Orient

Thru the efforts of the Y. C. I. a congress of the revolutionary youth of the Far East was held a short time ago in Moscow. There can be no question as to the far reaching effects it will have upon the development of the young people's organizations all over Asia. Representatives from Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, and other countries were present. The young of most of these countries are subjected to exploitation by their own master-class and, as well, of the European and American Imperialists. These millions of young people, held down by traditions, customs, laws, and ignorance, and by native and foreign exploiters are in sore need of getting the message of the revolutionists. This first congress cleared the field for action. From now on we may expect to hear more about the situation in the Far East.

We print herewith a synopsis the conditions of the young in three of the eastern countries.

Korea. Twelve hour day. Very low wages. Degradation compels parents to send children not yet ten years old into the factories. The measures of Japanese imperialism have added to the miseries. Only a fifth of all children can attend school.

China. Approximately two million young workers, the eighth part of whom has not reached the age of ten years. Twelve to fourteen hour day. Apprentices have only twice a month a day off. Children over ten years work day and night shifts like the adults.

Japan. The master class has succeeded in imbuing sections of juvenile labor with the spirit of Jingoism. The Government has established a "Federation of Young Men" whose one aim is to wage war against all labor organizations. The proletarian youth, however, has ever since the end of the War been undergoing a process of awakening to class consciousness.

The YOUNG WORKER

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May Day Has Come

May Day—International May Day!

'Tis the day of the working class of all the world. Once more we come together to survey our forces, to view the accomplishments of the revolutionary proletariat during the year just past, to prepare for the struggles still ahead of us, and to reunite, to rededicate ourselves to the historic mission of winning the world for the workers.

The past year has shown the international solidarity of labor in no uncertain terms. The splendid response of the workers of all countries to relieve their famine stricken brothers in Russia is an example unparalleled in history. Even the children of the workers in capitalist nations have heard and have answered the call.

The onslaught of capitalism against the proletariat rages with greater and ever greater fury as the days go by. Young and old, all of us are being ground down deeper into the mire. The master class knows no mercy, nor will it relenquish in the least its deathlike grip on the working class until that class FORCES it to do so.

We, the young, shall celebrate May Day 1922, not as a day of rest but as a day of Struggle. May Day 1922 sees the rapid growth and development of a Young Workers League—a League of Clarity and ACTION. We hear the tramp of the young as they come in ever larger masses to the banner of the revolutionists. Soon they will conquer. Mean-

while, as we view the intolerable situation forced upon us by the master class, let this be our slogan till that happy May Day comes when we have won for ourselves a Workers Republic:

"We have loved enough,"

"Now let us HATE!"

The Young Workers League Convention

We extend our greetings to the delegates at the First National Convention of the Young Workers League of America, to be held in New York City, beginning May 13th.

A start has been made to unite the revolutionary youth in this country, and we sincerely hope that this convention will solve the many pressing problems that present themselves at this time.

There is no other problem of greater importance at this time than the one of reaching and uniting the working class youth into a compact, militant body.

We trust that the decisions of the convention will be such as to give a still greater impetus to the successful development of our movement. We hope that their decisions will prove that the revolutionary youth is the "Vanguard of the Vanguard", leading the way to the victory of the working class, to the Workers Republic.

Genoa—Another Broken Rung

The capitalist world is going to the "dogs". Every attempt at reconstruction is a miserable failure. The irreconcilable contradictions existing in the present system cannot be solved except in one way—eliminating the system. Almost four years have passed since the Armistice was signed; four years of revolution and counter-revolution; of unemployment, strikes, military dictatorship of the capitalist class, poverty, degradation, and chaos generally.

The statesmen, economists, and experts of every kind have been trying to pull the capitalist world out the quagmire into which it is sinking deeper and deeper with each succeeding day. From Versailles, to Cannes and Washington every attempt to "save" the world has only added to the confusion.

Genoa, last and greatest of all conferences, is proving no exception to the general rule. It is another broken rung on the ladder of Capitalist-Imperialism. Russia has shown the way to the only lasting solution of the this international chaos. A conference of the representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the world, meeting in the name of the victorious working class of all countries—that is the solution.

Two Sketches

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES

I.

"No! It isn't possible!"

A thrill of horror and of pity shot thru me as my fingers closed on the dark, brown object.

It was small, the shape of a flat beach pebble and as hard.

Nicked, too; you would think that thousands of winds and waves had ultimately left their impress upon it—a stone, beach-cast.

The comrade, just return from Russia, had taken it out of her bag.

Bread! That's what she said it was. Bread that came from the skeleton fingers of a child in Russia. She herself had got it from him. Famine-bread, made of a compound of clay and grass and what here and there in this terrible morsel appears to be seed—fine grass-seed, like grains of sand imbedded in a pebble.

I turned it about in my hand:

"This was it then. This was the stone with which Nature, deaf and blind, answered the hunger-cry of Soviet Russia's starving children. This was the symbol of Drought and Blockade, the forces that were killing fifty thousand men, woman and children daily. This, the thing that held within its flinty core the horror that has strewn Russia's fields and highways with countless bodies of the dead, and with the famine-stricken dying.

Yes! And against the dreadful menace of this thing—this death-bread,—the world's workers are pitting their will, their strength, their labor, their meagre substance.

Against the menace of this thing even the young children of the workers are pitting their eager fiery young spirits. For has there not arisen out of this symbol of starvation, of death—out of this bit of stone called "bread" in Russia, the organization of worker's children the world over? Has there not grown up out of this need, the Famine Scout Clubs of America?

Dark symbol! Against your darkness we are throwing the light of our children's spirit. Against your hardness we are turning the steel of our children's wills. Against your cruelties we are loosing the flood of our children's devotion. Against you, the menace, we hold out the promise of our children's international solidarity!

And you—YOU will bring to our children—**LIGHT!**

Hail the Famine Scout Clubs of America—and the children's international solidarity!

II.

Before the darkness of that young mind I stood helpless.

He was a little fellow; ten, and in the fifth grade. What we'd call a "normal" boy, "good at school", healthy, active.

His teacher had told him so—he had read it in the papers, if ye want to know!—that's why he believed what he believed.

It was useless telling him on which side of the struggle he, a worker's boy, belonged.

"It's my country", he said, "aint I got to fight for my country, sometime?"

Not only was jingoism taught him in school—he was also a Boy Scout. The regular thing. The organization thru which the exploiters make willing slaves of our young worker's children.

His scout master had done well the work of darkening the little mind with bourgeois lies. His best impulses, that should be directed to the class struggle, were directed by moralistic phrases about "country", "flag", "home". His spirit, that should become a dynamio in the struggle of the class to which he belongs, was turned against the Japanese workers.

The "Japs" were a "yellow peril". They were building "a bigger navy", and were going "to fight us", some day. "Let them come over here, we'll show 'em!"

It did no good to tell him that the workers of one country really have no quarrel with the workers of another. The dark young mind would not open—no light could enter against that stubborn young will.

"Look here, let me show you how it is."

I argued, I presented facts, I painted pictures. I drew contrasts. To no avail...

One day, two years later, I saw him again. He was twelve now. A patriot still, but not such a stubborn one.

We talked; the little mind was still dark, but light could enter in. The young will was not now so firmly set against light.

What was it? What had made the change, slight though it was? Russia—the hungry children, the little ones crying for bread—these drew his sympathy and modified his attitude. Yes, he had read about the famine in the papers. He had read about the Famine Scout Clubs in the labor paper his father took. He came in answer to the call.

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The Awakening

By W. SCHNEIDERMAN

The greatest truths, some one tells us, are the oldest ones. We can always trace them back as they have for thousands of years directed those social forces which tend toward true progress. These truths may sometimes have outwardly changed their form; sometimes they may have been so distorted that their real meaning was temporarily obscured; but always, underneath all those artificial changes, they have existed as a constant and ever-present guiding-light to progressive thoughts and ideals.

If society exists, according to the most progressive thinkers of the age, for the purpose of furthering "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness", then any form of society which does not help attain this end must necessarily be abolished, for the ideal of civilized man embraces in its scope all of mankind, the whole human race, not any particular people or privileged class; and any system which is directed toward the furtherance of the interests of any privileged group certainly is not expressive of the highest ideals of civilization, and should have no place in modern society inasmuch as it is detrimental to true progress.

The dreams awakened in the minds of some by the rapid strides made in modern science and invention, which have so enormously increased the productivity of human exertion—those dreams which pictured a golden age of plenty when poverty and want would be unknown, and when man would have enough time to devote to his intellectual and moral development as well as to his material betterment, who will deny that for the present those dreams have been shattered?

They who have had any such visions have overlooked an all-important fact; namely, that the forces of capital have found it necessary to unite to protect the interests of the system in which they were created. Thus we find that as they have been combining and gaining strength, they have become powerful enough to safeguard the interests which they represent, that is, the interests of the privileged class which is now dominant and in complete control, economically as well as politically.

But we have seen that the highest conception of civilization demands a form of society which aims for the betterment and enlightenment of the whole human race. If it is confined to the welfare of one privileged group only, then that form of government is expressive of backwardness rather than of advance. From an ethical point of view, it shows

retrogression rather than progress, and in this sense there is no further reason for its existence.

Is not this conclusion alone sufficient to indict the existing order? Is it necessary to go further and show how the master class has mismanaged society, and to point out again, as has often been shown by the most progressive thinkers of modern times, that the rulers of the world have been systematically crushing every movement, every line of reasoning, which threatened their security as a class; that poverty is gaining a more miserable aspect as it is gaining a more widespread influence; that vice and crime may be directly attributed to this same privation and want; that the horrors of war and the demoralization immediately following are undermining the very foundations of civilization; and that all these conditions are typical of a social system under which the most glaring inequalities are very evident?

Therein lies the real reason for class antagonism; and no program of reform can penetrate deep enough to deal with these causes. The only remedy lies in the enlightenment of the mind of man as to his true status in society. Once the masses are reached, once they are raised to a level where they can reason for themselves, and see clearly their power to determine their own fate by their own collective action, then and then only will be possible the inauguration of a new era of progress and culture which will develop everything that is best in man.

The vital importance of this doctrine is becoming more generally recognized as we see that the clash of opposing ideas and interests in present-day society has been rapidly resolving itself into an intensified struggle between two great opposing factors, the age-long struggle between the ruling class and the masses—between oppressors and oppressed. To attempt to reconcile these two factors would be to attempt to change the unchanging law of human progress; as futile as the attempt to divert the current of social forces which are elevating mankind.

Out of this antagonism is arising a new movement, a movement universal in its scope, progressive in its nature, and revolutionary in its program; and it is by virtue of these characteristics that this proletarian movement all over the world is expressive of the highest ideals of civilized peoples who are seeking enlightenment to combat the forces of

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Montani Semper Liberi

The Freedom of the West Virginia Working-Class

By TONY WISHTART

This is what we have on our (?) state flag. It means "Mountaineers are always free". But are they free? If so, I think I don't want any more of their freedom.

It just started here in this part of West Virginia. In the southern part of state, in Mingo, Logan and McDowell counties freedom consists of state police hanging around. It would be all right if they only loafed around but they put men and their families out of their homes because they start to organize. The miners have been living in tents furnished by United Mine Workers of America, and in fact they are still living in them, or rather what is left of them.

The militia and deputies came around about 10 or 12 o'clock at night and fired into the tents. But this alone didn't satisfy them. They took the knives and cut the tents. They didn't make mere holes in the tents so that the air could circulate, but they literally cut the tents into strips. If the workers would complain they would either be beaten or thrown into jail without any cause.

At the times the people were evicted from their shanties many there were that could not be moved, that weren't in a condition to be moved. Some of them were pregnant women, some just had borne children and there were others that were sick.

In some parts of the state they didn't even move the people out of the houses; but their only excuse was that the houses needed repairing. The same conditions existed in the homes before mentioned. But did this matter to the company? NO.

They tore the roofs from the houses. (Remember this was in winter time.) In some cases, they tore parts of the walls down. This is the kind of a freedom we get in West Virginia.

When out on the picket duty, (It's a wonder they let us come out) there were policemen ready to arrest those who would stop anyone from going to work. We pulled one over on them by not using any violence. We didn't even go so far as to hold a man while talking to him. But the cops here are a far better sort than in the average town in West Virginia. It's a nice kind of a freedom when women have to come out on the picket line.

We do have some freedom here, we can go and scab on our fellow workers. In this case we are praised (by the company) as having good sense and such men are being given protection by the state troops in going to and coming from work.

When an organizer steps into some parts of West Virginia he takes his life in his hands, and many times it is taken out of his hands. By that I mean that deputies follow him around everywhere and try to pick a quarrel with him; and if they do that, they have an excuse to finish him. This is the kind of freedom we have here. About the only people that have freedom are the state police. They come here and raise all the kinds of HELL they want, get drunk, insult women and young girls, shoot people and raise hell in particular, but there is never a word said against them, (that is, by the local police force if any deputies come in).

West Virginia is known as a scab state. Every man that goes from here is branded as a scab with a capital "S." He has a hard time to get a job in a well organized field. But remember, it is not the part of the men here. Where there is a union the men usually stick together. The man that becomes a union man in this state will hardly ever prove to be false. He remembers his struggles and his fights for the organization. We can't judge the whole state by some of the men in it. It is true that this state hasn't many men organized but those who are, are good.

A little more about freedom (?) in our state. When 5,000 armed miners started into Mingo county they were met by the troops and were told that everything would be all right if they returned. The miners turned about, and on their way home they passed through a town named Sharples. The town was shot to pieces, so they turned around and went back into Mingo. The troops met them again and told them if they would give up their arms that no harm would be done them. Three hundred out of that 5,000 miners did so and to-day those 300 are indicted for treason. Treason to whom? To nobody. They merely came out for their rights. Treason is punishable by death in this state. If these men are convicted and hung what are we going to do about it? Just think this over.

How long will this last? This will last as long as the worker hangs down his head and takes all the abuse. So you see, comrades, this can't last long and will not last long. But it will last as long as we keep still about it.

Men, learn that you have a strong right arm and don't let the left one be idle either. We've got to hang together or we will hang separately.

What Means This Independence?

By O. CARLSON, Secretary, Y. W. L. of A.

The old cry comes to the front again. "Independence"—that is the clarion call of each and every variety of the young within the Young Workers League who fail to grasp the purpose and function of an organization such as ours. Our good friends on the RIGHT, in the Centre, at the Extreme LEFT meet upon this common ground of INDEPENDENCE.

"To take a stand for a particular revolutionary party—ah, that would be terrible, for no longer would we have unity within our organization. Instead of one Young Workers League we would have six or eight young peoples revolutionary organizations." Thus speak the high priests for Independence of the Young Workers League, as against those who desire to see it co-operate with and be politically subordinate to the Workers Party of America.

In another part of this magazine appears an article supposed to be an appeal for unity thru complete independence of the YWL of A. The writers seek to point out that due to the great confusion within the adult revolutionary movement, this is the necessary procedure now. Let us briefly analyze the situation. There is only ONE Communist Party in this country—but it is illegal and cannot reach the wide masses of workers. The same can be said of the Young Communist League. The Proletarian Party (with its almost 400 members nationally) cannot in any way be considered seriously. It is propaganda sect—NOT a political party, and would never consider trying to organize a youth section of its own when it cannot get members for its party.

The United Toilers is no political party—according to its own statement. Furthermore, it is but a small body, having branches in a few eastern cities and composed almost without exception of the older foreign comrades. Its main function seems to be to attack the Workers Party. A bitter attack against the N. O. C. of the YWL and the WP appeared in their paper "The Workers Challenge" of a few weeks ago. The members of this particular organization are now most eager to see the League become independent—but why? Because they know they cannot at once directly get the organization to support them. Hence they take up the hypocritical cry for independence for the YWL. Their REAL desire is to make of the YWL an instrument with which to fight and break the Workers Party. Possibly our comrades all over the country should know

that the author of the "Independence" article in this issue has time and again declared that he stands very close to the United Toilers. Furthermore, it becomes necessary to expose such individuals, who mouth phrases about unity and the fact that "of course, we will cooperate with all revolutionary parties" when in their own YWL branch meetings they speak and vote against "co-operating with the W. P. on the political field." These are the ones who shed crocodile tears because we, who see in the class struggle, not a phrase but a hard cold fact, and in view of this, point out the fact that the young workers cannot take an isolated stand, but MUST become a part and parcel of the general revolutionary movement; they must take sides, one way or the other, for or against the only nationwide revolutionary political party in this country—the Workers Party of America. The slogan for independence is the slogan of the centrists. It is the slogan of taking NO STAND, of holding aloof, of becoming a debating club and not a militant organization fighting the class struggle. This has been the case in Germany, in France, in Austria and in Italy. He who believes that a Young Workers League can stand neutral in the conflicts between the various elements of the adults is sadly mistaken. An independent organization combining within itself adherents to every grouping within the adult movement could not move one way or the other. It would be a whirlpool of conflicting opinions, views, principles, tactics, which would rapidly disintegrate into a whole series of warring sects. Instead of "Clarity and Action" our motto would in reality become: "Confusion and Disolution".

What elements raise the cry for independence? Surely not the young workers within our ranks. Every young proletarian knows and feels the class struggle, and he is interested in the YWL insofar as it is an organ in that struggle. To him it is not essentially a good-time or social club, nor a debating circle. He realizes full well that young and old must be united in their struggle. He has no fear of subordinating the League to the political directives of the W. P. Quite to the contrary, he can conceive of no other viewpoint. It is largely the student element (the type which seeks to become lawyers, doctors, professors, etc. "respectable people") that has raised this question. Their interest in the working class movement is dilittante rather than vital, and they feel that they are the leaders

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News from the West Virginia Mining District

By AUGUST VALENTINE

Editors note: August Valentine, the writer of the following interesting article is one who is actually participating in the battle against capitalism in the coal fields of West Virginia. Valentine is just 17 years of age and is taking a man's part in labor's fight. He is an official, despite his youth, of the United Mine Workers of America, Local 4112. He is also a member of the Young Workers League.

The conditions around here are not very good. At present we are locked out because we were not humble enough to submit and take a reduction in wages. The miners organization was almost destroyed until the radical elements got into office. There are but two officers that stand for revolutionary principals, president Chas. Wishtart and myself. Our financial secretary and our treasurer are both for Lewis who believes in peace between labor and capital.

However the rank and file stick with us. Last week we were on picket duty. We got almost all the scabs to come out with us, and those who didn't come out are not working because the company shut the mines as sufficient men didn't go to work.

Around here (including this vicinity) we voted to go out on strike on April 1st. This vote was a 100% vote. The women came out on the picket line also and were a great help to us. On March 17th we held a parade whose purpose was to show that we would not stand for having the American workers drugged into slavery. There were about 1200 in the line and we marched into a neighboring town which is a regular scab incubator.

On March 19th we held a mass-meeting in the Opera House and several thousand attended.

Now that we are organized well on the industrial field we will start on the political field. Already we young ones got together and started The Young Workers League and the men will soon start to organize the Workers Party of America.

I want to congratulate you on the formation of The Young Workers League. It is the kind of an organization that should have been established a long time ago. It is the kind of a League that will be a benefit to us in the future.

This organization will put a new hope into us. It will drag our foolish ideas, that were fed to us by the scout officials, into their graves and make them die.

The world belongs to the people who live in it. Nothing on the face of this green earth shows

that Rothchild, Morgan or Rockefeller should have more rights than you or I. Yet, as the world stands today, (with the exception of Russia) it is not for everybody. You and I have no opportunities such as Morgan has.

The toilers who produce everything have nothing. The few idlers or parasites that do nothing have everything. The workers haven't enough of anything, not even enough work if they demand a decent price for their labor power. Comrades I want to tell you it is all due to the present system, the capitalist system. It must be abolished.

This would be a happy world if you would make it so. It is big and rich. The shelves are full, so why go hungry?

The only thing to do is to abolish wage slavery and that can be done by living up to your motto: Clarity and Action.



"The Blow Heard 'Round the World"

The Fight Against the Pauperization of the Working Youth

Open Letter of the Y. C. I.

TO THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS!

To All Young Workers of Both Sexes!

Everywhere, in the factories, in the meetings of the workers' organisations, and in their newspapers

The Proletarian United Front

is being discussed.

But not only is it being discussed; the working masses have already made many practical steps forward along this road. In January, the Bureau of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties issued an appeal to the workers' parties of the world in which

The Joint Convocation of a General Conference of Labor Organisations

was proposed. In general conference they are to consider what the international working class must do in order to escape from the difficult situation in which it finds itself at present.

In all countries the employers are proceeding with all their power against the workers. Wages are being cut, hours of labor are being increased, and the workers resisting are being locked out or discharged by the hundred thousand. The capitalist governments are attempting to reinforce their shaky positions by the imposition of huge taxes, which bear principally upon the workers.

The working class wants to fight in common against this attack of the capitalist of all countries against the workers, against this

Offensive of Capital

by the uniting of all proletarian forces.

The Communist International, which has hitherto called to the revolutionary battle for emancipation without considering the interests of the international bourgeoisie, and which works in all countries for the union of all the forces of the working class for battle, has also accepted this proposal, so important for the defence of the vital interests of the workers.

WHAT IS THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROLETARIAN YOUTH TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROLETARIAN UNITED FRONT?

WHAT ARE ITS EXPECTATIONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOR ORGANISATIONS?

The proletarian youth works in the shops and factories alongside of its adult comrades. The hardships of the older workers are shared by the youth. But they suffer even more. Millions of young workers suffered in body and soul in the trenches of the last war. Millions of adolescents had to undergo the entire misery of the war and were permanently disabled as a result. And now the blows of the offensive of capital are raining down with redoubled energy upon this youth, which has always been subjected to special legislation.

But no one seems to think of the terrible hardships under which the proletarian youth is now bowed. Not even at the present moment, when the misery of the working class has become so great that the whole international labor movement is looking for new, hitherto unused weapons in the fight against the exploiting class.

Should that Remain?

No! The entire working class can no longer look on while capitalism destroys health and vigor of its younger generation and plunges it into the abyss of misery. Too long have reformist trade-unions and the Socialist parties passively endured this perilous state of affairs.

The working youth everywhere demands that something be done for it, that the adult workers at last take up the struggle for the most urgent economic demands of the young workers.

AND THE WORKING YOUTH CAN AND MUST DEMAND THAT THE COMING INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE ALSO DECLARES ITSELF READY FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PAUPERIZATION OF THE YOUNGER WORKERS.

The adult workers, however, must and will comply with these demands of the youth. Not only must the coming generation be saved, but the capitalists must be hindered from misusing the disfranchised and defenseless youth in order to reduce wages, break strikes and ensnare the youth, thus consolidating its victory over the working class.

TODAY BOTH YOUNG AN ADULT WORKERS HAVE THE SAME INTEREST IN TAKING UP THE DECISIVE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE ENSLAVEMENT OF THE WORKING YOUTH.

THE BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE!

The Communist International and the Red Trade Union International have decided, upon the urgent motion of the Young Communist International, to take up the fight against the pauperization of the working youth on an international scale. And since they realise how burning this question is at the present time, they have further decided.

TO DEMAND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF LABOR ORGANISATIONS TAKE UP THE QUESTION OF THE FIGHT AGAINST THE PAUPERIZATION OF THE WORKING YOUTH.

The Communist International, the Red Trade Union International and the Young Communist International, which have thus taken a decisive step for the commencement of this struggle, have at the same time drawn up a list of demands which are of especial importance in the defensive fight against the offensive of capital. These demands, taken from the program of the Young Communist International, are as follows.

I.

1. **Minimum wages, corresponding to the minimum cost of living.**
2. **Fight against the violation of the eight hour day, against trade education after working hours and for the establishment of the six hour day for minors.**
3. **Provision for the young unemployed.**
4. **Establishment of educational shops for the young unemployed.**
5. **24 hour Sunday rest.**
6. **Four weeks' yearly vacation with full pay.**
7. **Prohibition of night and Sunday work.**
8. **Abolition of the work of minors in trades and factories which are injurious to their health. (Certain branches of the chemical industry, underground work in mines, etc.)**

II.

For Apprentices.

1. **Limitation of the number of apprentices.**
2. **Abolition of individual indentures, apprentices to be included in collective agreements.**
3. **Control of the employment of apprentices by the trade-unions and the shop councils.**

These demands, which answer the urgent needs of all young workers, must be taken up and fought

for by the entire working class. The Communist Organisations have already done so; it is up to the other labor organisations to do the same. The Socialist parties and youth organisations, which have an impossible situation if they pay no attention to the demands of the working youth, must support them as well.

NOW IT IS UP TO EVERY YOUNG AND ADULT WORKER TO THROW THE WEIGHT OF HIS VOTE INTO THE SCALES!!

Young and old, workingmen and workingwomen, see to it that this time the voice of the youth be heard and their rights represented!

The working youth of all countries, who have a burning interest in a large-scale struggle against their pauperization, must now let their voice be heard!

The masses of the working youth must make their will known in meetings and processions.

They must show the parties and trade-unions that it is their warmest desire that at last their cause must be considered and the struggle for their interests taken up. And they must show that they are ready to employ all their forces in the fighting of this struggle.

Comrades! Young and adult workers!

We call you to the international battle against the pauperization of the working youth! Heed the call of the Young Communist International and, together with it, demand, that the international conference put the struggle against the impoverishment of the working youth on its agenda! Take up our demands and unite for a fearless, powerful revolutionary struggle!

FOR THE PLACING OF YOUTH QUESTIONS ON THE ORDER OF BUSINESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE!

FOR THE INVITATION OF THE YOUTH INTERNATIONAL TO THE CONFERENCE!

FOR THE COMMENCEMENT OF A RUTHLESS STRUGGLE TO SAVE THE WORKING YOUTH FROM THE EFFECTS OF THE OFFENSIVE OF CAPITAL!

These are the slogans which we call upon you to support!

LONG LIVE THE UNITED FRONT OF THE YOUNG AND ADULT WORKERS!

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN UNITED FRONT!

**The Executive Committee
of the
Young Communist International.**

Moscow, March 8th, 1922.

Appeal for Revolutionary Unity

By H. SELIGSON, Member of N.O.C. of Y.W.L. and E. ELSTON

At no time in the history of the American labor movement have conditions been as favorable to the rapid growth of the revolutionary movement as they are to-day. Tremendous unemployment, open-shop campaigns, injunctions against workers, reductions in wages, increases in number of working hours, etc.,—all these are developing a spirit of protest and dissatisfaction amongst the American workers, such as has never existed previously. Strikes, strikes, authorized and unauthorized, are the order of the day.

But the workers are hampered in their activities by lack of solidarity, lack of cooperation. Now, if ever, the American workers must present a united front, and they are beginning to realize it. The younger workers, numbering millions, are beginning to think in more progressive terms, of new solutions to their problems. They must be shown that only revolutionary clarity and revolutionary solidarity can lead them out of the swamp of capitalist contradictions.

And what sort of clarity and solidarity is the revolutionary movement in America setting as an example before the workers? Just in proportion to the need, never before equalled, of working class solidarity, just in that proportion is the American revolutionary movement shattered. Never before has there been such a chaos of revolutionary organizations, such a tangle of factional disputation. Just think of the ridiculousness of expecting to win the American workers to the revolutionary movement when they are confronted with two Communist Parties, a Workers' Party, the United Toilers, and the Proletarian Party, all avowing Communist principles, and yet all lambasting each other much more vehemently than they do the capitalist system; all proclaiming unyielding advocacy of 100%, undiluted Communism, yet each maintaining a distinct organization of its own. As far as the American workers are concerned, it will be a case of distinctions without any differences.

Even should we grant, for the sake of argument that the differences in tactics in the ranks of the older revolutionists are sufficiently fundamental (which they are not) to warrant the continued existence of several distinct Communist organizations, surely no one will contend that there are differences amongst the younger revolutionists of this country in regard to the tactics of the young workers' movement, sufficiently serious to warrant the stupid imitation in the young workers' movement of the existing multiplicity of adult revolutionary organizations. Any attempt at affiliation with, or subordination to, any one of the older revolutionary organizations spells immediate disintegration of the Young Workers' League into four or five young workers' organizations. The Workers' Party will have its Young Workers' League. The United Toilers will have their United Young Toilers. The Proletarian Party will have its Young Proletarian League, while each of the two existing Communist Parties will have its Young Communist League. This will be the shameful response of the young revolutionists of this country to the need and demand of the miserably exploited young workers of America for solidarity, unity and clarity. Obviously there will be no solidarity, no unity. And still more obviously, there will be no clarity of purpose instilled into the young American Workers. Their minds will be befuddled by the confusing multiplicity of young workers' organizations. Whoever attempts to shatter the young

workers' movement of this country on the rocks of the present party dissensions is guilty of gross betrayal, not only of the young workers' movement but of the whole Communist movement as well. We hurl the slogan of the "United Front" and above that, the slogan of "United Revolutionary Front", into the teeth of those who are hypocritically mouthing it, but at the same time doing all in their power to violate it by advocating affiliation with, or subordination of, the Young Workers' League to the Workers' Party or any other adult revolutionary organization at the present time.

We urge, as a solution to the threatened splits at the coming Young Workers' League Convention, a policy of complete independence from all the adult organizations at the *present time*. There must be no subordination to any one of them, because only in this way can we maintain our organization intact and preserve its sorely-needed revolutionary unity.

This policy of independence is not urged as a permanent one for the Y. W. L., nor as a matter of principle. It is urged merely as a temporary expedient to maintain the integrity of our organization.

Non-subordination does not mean insubordination. Independence does not mean independence from the class-struggle. Nor does independence imply non-cooperation with our older comrades. Not only will we cooperate, but we must cooperate with the older movement in our mutual struggle to help the workers young and old, in their every-day battles against their exploiters, to expose capitalism and its humanity-destroying institutions and to show the inevitability and desirability of the Communist society. We must cooperate with all existing adult organizations that advocate the principles of the Third International.

In 1919 we were confronted with the same problem, and we successfully met it with the same solution—*independence*. At that time the left wing movement in the Socialist Party had its reflection in the Young Peoples' Socialist League. The "lefts" in the Y. P. S. L. were extremely desirous of separating the Y. P. S. L. from the S. P. and lining it up with the "left" faction. But they were faced with a dilemma. With whom should they unite? There were two Communist Parties, the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. Those members of the Communist Party who were working in the young peoples' movement would insist upon affiliation with the Communist Party, while the Communist Labor Party members in the Y. P. S. L. would insist upon affiliation with the C. L. P. The result would be the dissociation of the Y. P. S. L. into two, three, or four organizations, each of which would find itself impotent. But sanity prevailed. The C. P.ites and the C. L. P. in the Y. P. S. L. got together and agreed to cooperate in building up a united revolutionary vanguard of young workers, just as they would cooperate, through necessity, if not willingly, in labor union activities. They agreed to have the young peoples' movement go independent rather than reduce it to impotence by making it a martyr to hair-splitting, super-orthodoxy. To-day we are confronted with the same situation, except that the "splititis" of the American Communist movement has become more acute and more violent. Let us learn from our past history and experience how to solve our immediate problems.

We appeal to the Central Executive Committee of the Workers' Party to urge upon all members of the Workers' Party who are working within the Young Workers' League to cease their advocacy of subordination of the Young Workers' League to the Workers' Party at the present time. We also call upon the Central Executive Committee of the United Toilers, the Central Executive Committee of the Proletarian Party and the Central Executive Committees of both Communist Parties to do likewise. Let it not be said, to the shame of the Communist movement of America, that all of you, or any one faction amongst you, were guilty of disrupting the young workers' movement of America as a result of your petty party prejudices. A shattered revolutionary young workers' movement in this country will be a standing monument to the lack of vision, and to the lack of understanding of the Communist factions in this country.

Comrades of the Y. W. L. It behoves the young revolutionary workers to blazon the path for revolutionary unity. Let us set the example to the American workers and to the adult revolutionary movement in this country! The situation confronting us at this moment is critical, indeed. Let us set aside the petty differences that are separating our older comrades into unnecessarily hostile camps. Let us demand and obtain the support and assistance of all Communist factions in our gigantic task of winning the young American workers for the proletarian revolution—the new generation of American workers, in whom, and in whom only, the hope of the American revolutionary movement lies.

Forward to the united revolutionary front of the young American workers!

When You and I Were Young, Maggie . . .

Dat's de song I wuz gittin ready ter sing whin I wuz twenty years OLD. Shure, and wuzn't I usin' danderine fer to be me Fountain of Youth, and Glover's Dog Mange fer four bits a bottle and a jit fer luxury tax. Yes, boys, I guess dey tink even a dog's life a luxury. Maybe I wuzn't woikin twenty-five years yit, but I woiked enuff as long as I did, to make some of me bosses kale enuff fer dem to be joy-ridin around in limerzeens wid expensive dames. But smell dem guys whin dey shoots by in their tonneau—a ton o' smell dey leaves behind 'em. Seen me skiddin around in a flivver even? You bet your hock ticket you ain't. Scuse me, fellers me, fellers, I'm fer a—gittin back to what I wuz sayin before. At twenty, I wuz old and gittin ready fer me chin to kiss me chest. At twenty, I wuz old. At twentyone, I'm a kid agin, no kiddin. Here's de dope. Ever hear of dem Yowls? Dat's me now. Dere's a reg'lar bunch fer you—boys, what you'll say are all dere, and girls what are reg'lar fellers. And dey aint de kind what 'll go scabbin on you when you're on strike. And here's de cuckoo what'll make your heart sing glad. Dey're fightin day and night fer you and fer me and all de stiffs dat woik fer a livin or can't git a job.

And take it from me, dey fights hard. If it aint an unemployment meetin, it's some other kind of a meetin. Sometimes, it's a lecture and sometimes, it's a debate. And dey got all kinds of classes where dey learn us guys all kinds of stuff we never got in school and what's good fer us guys ter know. And we learn how to talk to people good, so we kin go in de union and everywhere and tell dem blokes what's good fer 'em. And maybe you're a thinkin us guys is the kind that's paradin de spats and canes fer scenery, and de crowd what's long on hair and short on fun. Not on your life. I told yer we're reg'lar fellers. We do a little onesteppin once in a while and have a helluv-a time. At fancy actin, we're no hams, and fer amateur night stuff, we're 99%. And say, do you tink you can scrap, come up some Sunday afternoon to one of our gym classes and have your eyes polished. All de old army settin' up exercises you'll git, and rasslin and what not. So what's de use of talkin. Come on, join de gang. Come up and see me and Maggie and de rest and I'll betcher you'll feel like a two year old agin. Come on, let's go.

Dear Comrade Editor,

Please print what I have wrote, and tell everybody to read it. Dat's my testimonial, I wrote. And ask all de Yowls to write their testimonials, too, so we kin tell de world who we all are.

Two Sketches

(Continued from Page 4)

"I wanna help, see. I wanna be a Famine Scout. I wanna get food for the hungry children of Soviet Russia. My father said I should help."

He belongs to a Famine Scout Club now—and twin-scouting as he were doing it to "save the nation".

Though the heart is sympathetic, and the attitude somewhat modified, the little mind is still dark—is still the symbol of the blackest period of working-class slavery. But that mind will not stay dark for long. No! Darkness is being dispelled in every Famine Scout Club. Sentiment is being crystalized, and he cannot escape the crystalizing process that goes slowly but surely on.

What thrilling interplay of forces! Action and inter-action! Drama, gripping and convincing, in the international struggle! The workers' children of America gather their young forces to fight the Russian famine. The Russian fam'ne comes as a great force to overcome the dark minds of the workers' children of Capitalist America.

UNITE, YOUNG WORKERS' UNITE!

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL MAY DAY!

Can Students Be Revolutionary?

By HARRY GANNES

With the re-creation of the revolutionary youth movement in the United States the question of the students and the part they play in the ranks of a militant young workers organization comes to the fore.

We find in many places throughout the country that the student element, because of their technical abilities, assume the leadership in the youth organizations.

What is the effect of this? Will it work to the best interest of the young workers movement in endeavoring to accomplish its final mission, namely, the overthrow of the capitalist system?

Our movement is based on the class struggle the fight which is being waged by the working-class against the capitalist class; and our organization was formed because the most advanced of the working-class youth realized that the young toilers have problems of their own.

The large mass of the working class youth is devoid of extensive schooling. Statistics prove that the children of the working masses are forced out of school, even before the elementary grades have been passed. At an early age the children of the working-class are forced into various fields of employment where they come into competition with their own parents, and where they feel all the bitterness of the capitalist system of exploitation. In the student body of the secondary schools we find but few of the children of the proletariat.

Hence the question: "Can Students be revolutionary resolves itself into: "Can the children of the petty tradesmen, shop keepers, beaucroatic hangers-on of the capitalist state, and the bourgeoisie (the capitalists) become revolutionary?"

The large body of students in the high schools, the universities, etc., are unquestionably reactionary. The students become the intellectual leaders of the capitalist class. Even the few so-called proletarian students who find their way into the secondary schools become imbued with capitalist psychology which pervades all of the institutions of higher learning. Such an environment does not make for revolutionary consciousness. In fact, the atmosphere of our modern schools instil staunch ruling class prejudices into the minds of the large percentage of students.

The modern school system inculcates in the minds of the students a loyalty and obedience to the wealthy class; and stifled in the "intellectual" surroundings of the present-day school there is

little chance that the "finished" intellectual will be an asset to the revolutionary working-class.

That the ideals, the beliefs the longings, the science and the doctrines of the upper class are taught in the modern institution of learning is clear when we examine the methods and the text-books utilized.

Speaking of the class nature of the modern school system, and how it prevents the development of independent thought and action on the part of the students, S. J. Rutgers in his article *The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution*, says:

"The idiotic school system, which all but absolutely bars general culture in order to waste time upon all kinds of irrelevant information which, if eventually needed, may be had from any handbook; the burden of lessons to be learned by rote and work to be done at home, which prevents future intellectuals from gathering any experience of life in their leisure hours; the promoting of exaggerated and senseless sport: all this, as a system of education, compares only with military drill which, of set purpose, day by day, for months at a time, in an all but absolutely stupefying manner, repeats a score of movements and exercises which the dullest might easily master within a few weeks, and this, avowedly, in order to deaden the intellect and enforce a habit of mechanical obedience."

What is the result of years of such training? The finished product of the capitalist schools becomes a tool, economically and politically, of the master class. To such material the working-class youth cannot look for its inspiration and leadership, nor for its intellectual direction. Even while in school, the attitude of the great mass of the student body is inimical to proper working-class action.

"The attitude of University undergraduates," writes Rutgers, "in the various countries likewise points towards an increasingly reactionary temper even amongst this flower of the intellectual flock."

We now come to question of what should be our attitude to the students. The working-class youth can never enlist the majority of the students in its ranks to fight with it for the emancipation of the working-class. At best, but few individuals in the ranks of the intellectuals can be relied on for genuine action in the interest of the laboring masses.

But, the so-called student is amenable to argument, to study, and speculation. The great bulk of

the intellectuals form the directors and technical experts of modern industry; and our fight should be to enlist as many of them in our ranks as we possible can—not to act as the leaders of the working-class—but so that we may retain them as the managers of the highly developed and intricate system of production when the working-class assumes the leadership over society.

Wherever possible we should strive to “neutralize” the students so that they will not outrightly enlist in the ranks of the bourgeois against the working-class.

The students as a category in modern society can never become revolutionary, though individuals might transcend the bounds of capitalistic guidance and come over into the ranks of the working-class youth.

We should not look to the intellectuals of the present day to “lead” us; nor should we concentrate our attention on organizing the children of the capitalist class. The overthrow of capitalism is essentially the mission of the working-class. The working-class youth should not encumber its ranks with unreliable elements who may prove false when the time for decisive action arrives. History has branded the intellectuals as a class mentally and morally subservient to the interest of the masters.

Paul Lafargue says of them:

“It is not in the circle of the intellectuals, degraded by centuries of capitalist oppression, that we must seek examples of civic courage and moral dignity. They have not even the sense of professional class-consciousness..... The intellectuals, who on all occasions display their transcendental ethics, have still a long road to travel before they reach the moral plane of the working-class.”

Class War Prisoners

While participating in the activities of our movement, we must not forget that the jails still hold some of our bravest and truest comrades. Ben Gitlow, Winitsky, Ferguson, Ruthenberg and other still languish in the bastiles of our “free and democratic” country. A great number of comrades are on the verge of deportation. Others have been shipped to places where certain death awaits them. Reports are coming in showing that same are still being arrested and imprisoned for many years.

The prisoners of the class war are wasting away their lives in jail because they dared to fight the battles of the workers. We cannot forget them now. We must all take part in the work of defense. We must assist the National Defense Committee in all of its activities. Funds should be sent to its office, 799 Broadway, Room 405 New York.

The Awakening

(Continued from Page 5)

wealth and power which control the means of education. It is the proletarian movement more than any other which typifies progress and freedom; to combat this revolutionary tendency which threatens their security as a class, the masters spare no effort to crush any opposition which menaces their interests.

The very instruments at their disposal for this purpose are typical of a system which is a stumbling-block in the path of the human race. For the tools which serve the ends of the ruling class are those of darkness, and ignorance, and suppression; and in a state of society where freedom of thought and action is more and more asserting itself, such a system can no longer find a place.

On the other hand, the revolutionary movement against the existing order has as its weapon the doctrine of the enlightenment of the masses, the doctrine dictated by the law of human progress. It is the development of a class-conscious people which the leaders of the movement aim to bring about, a united people who by virtue of their solidarity and combined strength will attain their purposes.

As the classes which represent capital have grown and gained strength by their co-operation, so are they now weakening and disintegrating because of their discord. And the proletariat is growing with increasing rapidity; the working-class is waking out of its lethargy and is becoming conscious of its power.

With the principle of justice and equality ever foremost in his mind, with the doctrine of “LET THERE BE LIGHT” as his constant guide, there will now arise a new type of man combining all that was best in the old. And out of the ruins of the old order will spring up a new civilization and system of government which will direct all the forces of society toward the uplifting of mankind.

Clarity and Action

S. Max Kitzes.

*Clear your road through Education;
Fight the Night: its dread and fear.
Kill all Hate and Superstition;
Greet the Dawn with hope and cheer.*

*Dawn is Red. And so's our Banner.
Rise Young Workers: main and might!
Close up the Ranks! Concert your Power!
And change your force and plute-planned plight.*

In Memory of the Paris Commune

Speech Delivered by O. CARLSON on the 51st Anniversary of the Paris Commune at the Central Opera House, March 18, 1922, New York City

Comrades and Friends:—

In his memorable address before the International Workingmen's Association two days after the complete downfall of the Paris Commune, Karl Marx outlined in a masterly fashion the lessons to be derived from those few months of struggle in which the proletariat of Paris, the first proletariat in any part of the world, seized the power of the state and administered it to its own interest for a period of more than six weeks. In this address, Karl Marx says that Paris was so situated that any revolt, any revolution, any uprising that might occur within Paris was inevitably bound to effect the proletariat and bring them into action.

That was 51 years ago today. At the present moment, the way society is constituted and the way the antagonism of the class struggle have been sharpened and deepened, this is not only applicable to Paris, but it applies throughout the length and breadth of this country, of France, of Germany, of all of the civilized world. No matter what kind of movement takes place at this time, no matter what kind of uprising, no matter what kind of revolution, no matter what kind of fundamental social change takes place, the proletariat is inevitably linked up with that uprising, with that insurrection, with that social change; and the proletariat is bound to come to the top. The proletariat is bound to take a hand in it. As we have seen by the actions of our Russian comrades in 1917, of our German comrades in 1918, of our Hungarian comrades in the same year, of our comrades in Italy in 1920 — all over, wherever there has been a fundamental social change or crises taking place, the working-class, the proletariat immediately comes to the forefront and tries to seize power.

One of the first lessons that we get from the Paris Commune is the fact that the proletariat, in taking power, must have a state power of its own. The proletariat cannot utilize, cannot undertake to function as the governing class with the machinery, with the tools that were used before by the former ruling class—the capitalist class. That is a mighty lesson which we have learned from the Paris Commune. Our Russian comrades have taken the full advantage of this lesson which the working-class throughout the world must also learn.

After the breakdown and collapse of the Commune, due to the traitorous activities on the part of the French imperialists of that time, and on the

part of Thiers and Fabre—on the part of Bismark and his Prussian soldiers; after the collapse of the historic first International, the historic international created by Marx and Engels, by Liebknecht and Bebel, there came into existence the Second International. Then we had a period of 45 years of gradual development and capitalist expansion; a period marked by civil wars here, and by capitalist development there; by imperialistic expansion here and there. Generally, the process was one of going forward. The working-class gradually came to assume a more "respectable" outlook upon the development of society; and prevailing tone of the leaders within the ranks of the Second International was that of a legalized development from capitalism to socialism.

But the great war which followed, and the seven years of horror we have had, during and since the war, have revealed to us that we must again go back to the status of 1871 when the working-class realized it must take a militant stand on the basis of the class-struggle; when it realized that the class struggle is not a mere phrase, is not a few words, that it does not mean simply reading in books, but that it signifies an actual conflict.

The working-class youth of Paris suffered immensely during the days of the Commune. They fight in the ranks of the workers, on the barricades. And when the workers lost, they were slaughtered.

Today, our comrades in France have learned the lesson of the Paris Commune; The Young Communist League of France is now 10,000 strong—a militant organization which a year ago was successful in preventing fifteen regiments of young soldiers from marching into Germany at the time when the reparations payment was due. By their militancy they so infused the soldiers with the class nature of their task that they had to be disbanded. Our comrades in the Communist party of France 125,000 strong, stand as a militant army against the capitalist class. Our comrades in that country affiliated with the Red Trades Union International stand solid, welded together into one compact organization, having only one goal in view, fighting unitedly for that goal. Those comrades are endeavoring to accomplish what their forefathers of 51 years ago failed to do.

The situation that confronts us in this country, with our millions of unemployed, with wages being slashed so ruthlessly day by day, with the open shop

plan being pushed down the throats of the working-class by the organized capitalist-class compels us to beware and take heed of the lessons of the Paris Commune.

Remember! The capitalist class of today is just as ruthless, is just as barbaric, is just as merciless in its treatment of the revolutionary working-class of today as was the imperliastic capitalist class of France in the days of March, April and May in 1871.

The working-class youth of America, 20,000,000 strong, a mighty army that could be mobilised into an organization of action for the proletariat, stands unorganized, stands without a center, without a force around which it can rally. But we are trying to organize that force. Just as we have organized the Workers Party, the fighting vanguard of the militant workers, young and old, throughout the country, so too have we organized the Young Workers League, an organization of young workers, of the proletarian youth of this country, to carry on the battle of the proletarian youth. Our struggle is not an isolated struggle. It is not a struggle for special demands for the working-class youth, but particularly a fight to line up the working-class youth on the basis of conditions as they see them. Our duty is to point out to them, clearly and distinctly, that their struggle is not an isolated struggle but the struggle of the entire working-class. In this way, we seek to unite the young workers and adult workers into one mighty, compact army, into an army that will some day victoriously proclaim a workers republic in this country.

The Paris Commune failed. The International Workingmen's Association of that time was small. It did not have the support of the entire working-class behind it. The working-class of Paris did not have the understanding of the lessons confronting the working-class that we have today,—the history of 51 years, the thousands of lessons that those 51 years have given us, and which has brought into being an international organization of the militant working-class—the Communist International. The Communist International today stands as the mighty vanguard of the proletariat of the world, and around it are rallying larger and larger masses of the working-class.

The capitalist class is on the offensive, not only in America, but throughout the world. The capitalist class is forcing the working-class down into the dregs which they have never before experienced. It is the duty of the working-class to unite into a compact organization, the revolutionary workers of all shades of opinion, on the basis of a united front, on the basis of the immediate demands confronting the working-class. In this, the Workers Party and

the Young Workers League must lead the way in America.

There is an international organization which gives directives and guiding lines; we have the experience of 51 years' and the working-class of today, tired as it is of the seven years of slaughter, tired as it is by the oppression and suppression that has been forced upon it during the years following the war, must now rededicate itself to the task that confronted the working class of Paris 51 years ago; it must rededicate itself to the task of carrying through and accomplishing that which the Parisian proletariat was unsuccessful in accomplishing 51 years ago.

I can do no better, comrades, than to quote what Comrade Marx had to say regarding the Paris Commune, for it is just as applicable today as it was then:

"While the European Governments thus testify, before Paris, to the International Working Men's Association—the international counter-organization of labor against the cosmopolitan of capital—as the head fountain of all these disasters. Theirs denounced it as the despot of labor, pretending to be its liberator. Picard ordered that all communications between the French Internationals and those abroad should be cut off; Count Jaubet, Their's mummified accomplice of 1835, declares it the great problem of all civilized governments to weed it out. The Rurals roar against it, and the whole European press joins the chorus. An honorable French writer, completely foreign to our Association, speaks as follows: "The members of the Central Committee of the National Guard, as well as the greater part of the members of the Commune, are the most active, intelligent, and energetic minds of the International Working Men's Association men who are thoroughly honest, sincere, intelligent, devoted, pure, and fanatical in the GOOD sense of the word." The police-tinged bourgeois mind naturally figure to itself the International Working Men's Association as acting in the manner of a secret conspiracy, its central body ordering, from time to time, explosions in different countries. Our Association, is in fact, nothing but the international bond between the most advanced workingmen in the various countries of the civilized world. Wherever, in whatever shape, and under whatever conditions the class struggle obtains any consistency, it is but natural that members of our association should stand in the foreground. The soil out of which it grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carn-

age. To stamp it out, the Government would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labor—the condition of their own parasitical existence.

“Working men’s Paris, with its Commune, will be forever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them.”

In these words, comrades, the situation of today is summed up as completely as it was 51 years ago. All the dastardly acts of the capitalist class against our comrades in Russia, in Hungary and in Germany cannot be redeemed by all of their prayers, by all of their insinuations. And the workers are rallying in ever greater masses, both young and old, marching on to victory and final success for the working-class of the world!

Resolution of the New York Young Workers League Transferring the Young Worker to National Organization

(Omitted from March-April Issue)

Resolved, that in view of the fact that a National Organization Committee of the Y. W. L. of A. has been elected, including 3 of our own members, and in view of the fact that the first prerequisite for successfully launching such a National organization depends upon having a medium through which those interested can present their views on the matter and propagate for such a national organization. And in view of the fact that the N. Y.—Y. W. L. possesses a magazine “Youth” which could readily serve as such a medium.

Be it resolved, that we turn over the magazine Youth to the N. O. C. for the Y. W. L. of A. to become its official organ till the first National Convention of the Y. W. L. is held and that further disposition of it at that time be determined by the National Convention.

What Means This Independence?

(Continued from Page 7)

for the proletariat. Hence they are doing a great favor to the workers by offering to assist them. Such an element never can nor will understand the true nature of the class conflict—nor can it LEAD

the proletariat. Academicians that they are, steeped in the ideas of capitalist class culture, to them independence from political parties is quite the correct thing. (It must be understood that there are, and will be, within our ranks, many young proletarian students who know what the class struggle means and who are taking an active part in making of the YWL the kind of an organization that it should be.)

Leftists who shout for independence but in reality want subordination to the United Toilers; Centrists who dare not take a clear cut position with a revolutionary proletarian party, and who know that an Independent league is their only chance to rise to prominence and power; Certain student and non-descripts, who prefer independence because then they can have more “socials” and “rag-chewing” matches on their pet topics instead of having to participate in mass meetings, demonstrations, open air meetings, and reaching the young in the unions: these are the ones who want Independence. These, plus a few groups which are still hovering very close to the borderline of the decrepit Socialist Party.

On the other hand is to be found the militants, the revolutionary young workers and students. They want co-operation, they want political subordination of the YWL to the W. P. As against the handful of the other type, these comrades make up the real membership of our organization and overwhelmingly outnumber the former. They are sincere. They are earnest. They are class conscious. They want to make a fighting organization out of the Young Workers League. To them, the shallow arguments of the opposition mean nothing.

We want CLARITY AND ACTION. We want the membership to take a DEFINITE stand. Unity will come, not from making a hodge-podge organization out of the YWL and becoming Independent—but by linking up with our older comrades, in our common struggle against capitalism.

On to Unity: in principle and action with the Workers Party of America.—Unity in the struggle—that is our solution. That is the only way in which we can make of our organization that which it should be: The militant vanguard of the proletarian youth, which, by its clear cut stand and active participation in the daily struggles of the workers will prove an inspiration and a guide to them, around which they will rally in every greater masses as the class struggle grows fiercer and fiercer, in preparation for the Final conflict and the conquest of power by the proletariat.

GET INTO THE UNIONS!

READ THE WORKERS’ PRESS.



One Loaf or a Thousand



The little hammer and sickle that has inspired the workers of the whole world, seems today a tragic symbol for you, Soviet Russia!

You know that your hope is in the soil that has denied you bread. You know that your hope is in the new sowing and in the new harvest—and the sickle—the little sickle—crooks an ominous finger at you.

When you gather in your harvest, there are not even enough scythes. You have been forced to sow with the hand of the past and gather with the sickle-of-no-future.

The dark days of Feudalism, fostered by the Tzarist regime, which you are eager and ready to dispel, capitalist nations are forcing you to retain.

Sometimes, your half-starved oxen, sometimes, your peasant women with bent backs wearily drag behind them the crooked stick of ancient times.

Your Tzars of yesterday and ours of today compel you to wring one loaf of bread from the soil that might yield you a thousand,

You understand full well that to win your battle for liberty, you must win your battle for bread. But so long as the sickle mocks at the tractor, your fight for bread must be a losing fight. So long as the past mocks at the present, your future is dark, Soviet Russia.

The workers of America, together with the workers of all countries, will not let you lose your battle for bread. In co-operation with you we will pit the tractor against the sickle. We will send you horses of steel and power to draw from your soil a thousand loaves where now you draw only one.

In all of Siberia you have but eleven tractors. The few you have elsewhere have been sabotaged by your enemy. We will send you tractors, Soviet Russia, and plows. We will help you to a new, big harvest.

In the effort that you are making to replace the sickle with the thing of power and steel, we shall co-operate.

The tractor shall mock the sickle—your fight for bread shall be won, Soviet Russia! Your future shall be secure. You shall be free!

SIGN THE ROLL CALL

INTERNATIONAL TOOL DRIVE

MAY FIRST TO JUNE FIRST

Authorized by the All Russian Central Famine Relief Committee, Moscow, and the Workers' International Relief Committee, Berlin, The Friends of Soviet Russia, affiliated.

We welcome contributions of money with which to buy any kind of tool—
but most important—tractors

NATIONAL OFFICE:

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